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Sketch of Canadian Journalism

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"CANADA: A MEMORIAL VOLUME." Etc.

HERE has been a common impression that the first printing office and the first newspaper of Canada were started in Quebec, but the city of Halifax has the honor of being the birth-place of both printing and journalism in the Dominion. The first paper in the province of Quebec, the *Quebec Gazette* was established in the year 1764; but twelve years before this, the little two-page weekly, the first number of which is reproduced for this sketch, made its appearance in Halifax. It too was called the *Gazette*—a name then most commonly bestowed upon newspapers, especially when they were in any sense organs of the government. The town of Halifax had only been founded three years when this diminutive organ first appeared. It is noteworthy that this first newspaper outfit was of American and not of English origin. When Governor Cornwallis carried in his thirteen transports, the men and materials to found Halifax, he and his associate quite overlooked the printing plant as a necessary part of the outfit of the new city. In his expedition "there were artizans to build the future city; statesmen to govern it; soldiers to protect it; tradesmen to supply its wants; merchants, clergymen, doctors, lawyers, schoolmasters, and even actors; but in the whole outfit of the moving city—the like of which the world has seldom seen; certainly never since—there was neither printing press nor printer." *

* "Early journalism in Nova Scotia," by John J. Stewart.

The need of a printing press and newspaper was soon felt, but it was three years from the founding of the city before it was supplied by the small plant from which was issued the tiny *Halifax Gazette*. It was set up by Bartholomew Green from Boston. He was the son of Bartholomew Green who printed the first numbers of the Boston *News Letter* the first paper issued in America, and was a grandson of Samuel Green who is recognized as the father of printing on this continent. "It is not often," says Mr. Stewart in his essay on 'Early Journalism in Nova Scotia,' "that such honors descend on three successive generations of the same family. Bartholomew Green the younger was born in 1700, four years before the *News Letter* was started. He served his apprenticeship in the *News Letter* office with his father, and after he came of age, printed for himself, using his father's types and presses. In 1734 or thereabouts he formed a partnership with two other printers John Bushell and Bezoune Allen, which firm continued to do business as printers in Boston till 1751." In that year the firm dissolved and in August, Green, with his printing plant, sailed in the sloop *Endeavor* for the new city of Halifax, where he arrived in September. Procuring a small place in Grafton street, he "the grandson of the man who established the first fully equipped printing office in America, the son of the man who printed the first American newspaper," erected the first printing office in Canada. He could not have done much work, however, for within a month after his arrival he took ill, died and was buried in Halifax on the 29th of October. The Boston *News Letter* recorded his death in a short paragraph, and when the event became known John Bushell, his late partner, sailed to Halifax and took up the business. An agreement drawn up on the 20th March, 1752, between Bushell and Otis Little, the Attorney General of the Province, would seem to show that the latter had advanced the money to set Green up in business, and a number of subscribers who had been obtained for the proposed newspaper had paid their subscriptions before the printer was ready to issue. The plant was valued at £100, and of this Little had received back in subscriptions about £50 on account of his disbursements, the subscription being twenty shillings per year. The subscriptions it is evident were payable "strictly in advance." By the terms of agreement between Little and Bushell the latter was to "undertake the said printing business upon the 23rd day of March inst., and then publish a number of newspapers and distribute them among the several subscribers, * * and continue from week to week to publish a newspaper to be delivered as aforesaid until the conditions of their several subscriptions are complied with and shall also prosecute the

business of printing in Halifax aforesaid, for the space of one year to come from the said 23rd day of March." On that day in the year 1852 the first issue of the *Halifax Gazette* appeared, and the reader who compares the fac-simile of the paper with the great dailies and weeklies of the Canada of 1892, will acknowledge that the contrast is very great and the beginning very humble. The full size of this two-page sheet was 9 x 15 inches inclusive of the margin and the paper was of the coarse kind common to the few American papers of the day. Not a single copy of the first numbers of this primitive sheet is known to exist in Canada to-day, and only one incomplete file—including however the first numbers—is to be found on this continent. This is now in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, to the courtesy of whose librarian, Dr. Green, the publishers are indebted for the reproduction herewith given.

The agreement to "continue from week to week" was carried out to a space of time which the projectors never dreamed of, for that paper we are assured by Mr. Stewart has been regularly issued down to this day as a weekly, being now the *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette*, the government gazette of the province. It would therefore be 140 years old and is by many years the oldest living paper on the continent. *

Of the contents of the first number it is not necessary to speak; but it is worth while noting that there were but few items of local news, the advertising columns alone giving almost the only reflection we have of the business and social life of the day. It was not till May that anything in the shape of an editorial appeared, and it was on a subject which surely needs more frequent treatment now than then—"The Delusions of Earthly Riches." In the same issue was a contributed article recommending that more attention be paid to agriculture in the province. Among its advertisements was this: "Reading school for children kept, and gold and silver lace cleaned; and all sorts of silk, also mournings stiffened, by Elizabeth Render, near Rev. Mr. Tully's new house on Barrington street." Another was as follows; "To be sold by John Codman, at his store, the south corner of Bedford Row on Sackville street, good pork, beef, wheat and rye flour, Indian meal, butter, cheese, mould and dipped candles, rum, tobacco, milk, bread, etc."

The firm of Nathans & Hart advertised many articles of dry goods with now forgotten designations, winding up with the phrase "and many other articles too tedious to mention," and adding the

* The statement in Thomas' "History of Printing," that this journal was for a long time suspended is not correct, as proof has been given of its continuous publication.

N.B. "said Nathans & Hart buy Oyl and Blubber." Such announcements as this regarding an industry now happily extinct occasionally appeared: "To be sold by Joshua Mauger at Major Lockman's store in Halifax, several negro slaves, as follows:—A woman aged 35, two boys aged 12 and 13 respectively; two of 18 and a man aged 30." Bushell, like Green, was a Bostonian, but unlike most of the Green family, he "had not the art of acquiring money nor did he make the most economical use of the little that fell into his hands,"* though he was a good workman. He got into debt "and there is evidence that he fell into arrears with his grocer and that the proportion of liquid groceries in his bill was much larger than it should be in any well ordered household. But through all his manifold difficulties he still retained the nominal control of his paper until the autumn of 1760."† In this year he took into partnership a young printer named Anthony Henry who was destined to become prominent in the journalism of the province. Only four months elapsed from the formation of this partnership when Bushell died; and though he left a family of printers, Henry succeeded to the entire business, to the exclusion of Bushell's family, as Bushell had excluded Green's family from the business when the founder passed away. One of Henry's apprentices who had run away from his master in Boston and now worked here for his board, was Isaiah Thomas, afterwards founder of the *Worcester Spy*, and author of the first history of printing, already referred to. Thomas was taken into Henry's employ out of kindness and not because he was required, and this kindness he repaid by getting his employer into trouble over the Stamp Act. While his employer was ill, Thomas put the paper into mourning with inverted rules and with death's head and cross-bones over the title in imitation of a similar grotesque protest by the *Philadelphia Journal*. This was followed by the burning in effigy of the Stamp Master on the gallows near the citadel. It was afterwards supposed that Thomas had a hand in these and similar transactions which led to the placing of a captain's guard at the Stamp Master's office for his protection. Henry had brought from England his stock of paper ready stamped for the use of the *Gazette*, in compliance with the Act, but it was discovered one day that the stamps had been cut off from the whole stock and destroyed. Years afterwards Thomas confessed that he had done it "with the assistance of a binder's press and a plough"—an incident shewing that book-binding was done here as early as 1765 at least. There being no more stamps obtainable, Henry published his paper without them, and so con-

* Thomas' History of Printing.

† Early Journalism in Nova Scotia.

travened the law. Until now the *Gazette* was regarded as an official organ,—Mr. Bulkeley, the Provincial Secretary, being nominally, at least, its editor—but Henry, had disobeyed the law and the authorities determined to punish him. This they did in a rational and effective manner, for instead of imprisoning or fining him they sent to London, brought out another printer and newspaper plant and transferred the government patronage. If Thomas' statement be true that the circulation of the *Gazette* at this time was only three quires, or 72 copies, we can readily see that the withdrawal of the government patronage in subscriptions and advertisements was a staggering blow. All too late Henry dismissed Thomas and sent him back to Boston, and protested to the government the innocence of his intentions. He only incurred the lasting resentment of his inconsiderate and ungrateful apprentice, and made the government all the more resolved on having a change of patronage. The new printer was Robert Fletcher, a Londoner, who in 1766 arrived with his newspaper outfit and a stock of books and stationery, and on August 14th sent out his first weekly paper which was called the *Nova Scotia Gazette*. The new paper—or rather the old *Gazette* under a new management—was a full sheet crown folio and bore the following imprint: "Halifax: Printed by Robert Fletcher, and sold by him at his shop near the Parade where all sorts of printing is executed neatly, correctly and expeditiously. Subscriptions received at twelve shillings a year or three pence a paper. Advertisements of a moderate length inserted at three shillings each." The quotation of advertising rates would seem rather indefinite to the business manager of to-day. Henry did not attempt at this time to continue his paper as an opposition journal, but would appear to have handed over the subscription list and "good will" to the new printer. After two years and a half had passed however, during which he carried on a quiet job-printing business, he was moved to enter journalism again, and in January 1769 brought out a small eight-page paper called the *Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*. By putting the subscription down to eight shillings a year, and giving much more attention to the news of the Province—in fact it was the first paper which gave any local news to speak of—he ultimately succeeded; while Fletcher, though a better printer from the mechanical aspect of the question, seemed to have more taste for selling than producing literature, and in 1770 we find that he handed over his *Gazette* to Henry, sold out his type and plant to John Boyle of Boston, and extended his business from books to dry goods and provisions. From this expansion he finally fell into the hands of the sheriff, though he was able to resume business again. Henry, once more proprietor of the *Gazette*, incorporated it with his

own as the *Nova Scotia Gazette* and *Weekly Chronicle*, and nothing interrupted his prosperity for years. At the time of his death it was said he had been King's printer for forty years; and his god-son Anthony Henry Holland, became in 1813, founder of the *Acadian Recorder*, a journal which exists to-day as the oldest regular newspaper of the Maritime Provinces.

Such is the first epoch in Canadian Journalism. Reviewing the *Gazette* of the first twenty years one may note many improvements. It had grown to a full sheet of crown folio or treble the size of its first number—a half sheet of foolscap—while comparing it with the papers published in Boston and other colonial cities it appeared to fair advantage. But neither it nor its contemporaries, says Mr. Stewart, had the characteristics of the modern newspaper. "Telegrams, the very soul of the modern newspaper, it had none; editorials it had none; of local news there was but the smallest quantity, on an average not more than twenty lines a week. Birth and marriage notices, the most interesting, to lady readers, of the whole newspaper, were not permitted. For thirty years of the *Gazette* the only local marriage notice I can find is the following. 'Married Sunday evening, 10th December, 1769, William Allan, Esq., of Cumberland, to Mrs. Jane Slayter of this town.' And as for birth notices, except of Royal or noble parents, they were never thought of. Even death notices were limited to persons of distinction. The correspondents very seldom discussed local or even live matters. Column after column was filled with articles six or eight months old, clipped from other newspapers or copied from old magazines. Official proclamations, correspondence, etc., were published *in extenso* with all their tedious verbosity. ** Only two departments the newspaper of a century ago and the newspaper of to-day possessed in common—shipping news and advertising." Announcements of sales of slaves or enquiries for runaway slaves were still frequent features of the advertising columns. Among the latter announcements the following is a sample "Ran away from her master John Rock, on Monday the 18th day of August, a negro girl named Thursday, about 4½ feet high, broad set, with a lump over her right eye. Had on when she ran away a red cloth petticoat, a red baize bed-gown and a red ribbon about her head. Whoever may harbor said negro girl, or encourage her to stay away from her said master may depend on being prosecuted as the law directs; and whoever may be so kind as to take her up and send her home to her said master, shall be paid all costs and charges, together with *two dollars* reward for their trouble."

Up to this period at least, it is not probable that the *Gazette*

had more than a dozen subscribers at inland places in the Province, for there was no internal postal communication, and though there was a post office in Halifax in 1770, there was no regular post here from foreign places till 1784, when the monthly packet of sailing ships was established between New York and Falmouth via Halifax.

The American revolution affected in an important degree the early journalism of Nova Scotia as well as of Quebec. Among those who believed in the unity of the Empire and sacrificed their homes and fortunes to maintain it, were several journalists who attained more or less distinction in the unknown land of exile to which they were driven. Of these there was Mrs. Draper.—"the journalistic heroine, who, inheriting the old Boston *Newsletter* through the death of her husband in 1774, kept that pioneer American journal staunch and firm in its allegiance to the empire till the day when the British evacuated Boston, 17th March, 1776, when she gathered up her presses and types and came to Halifax with them,"—and John Howe, the father of Hon. Joseph Howe who became famous alike as a poet, statesman and journalist. John Boyle, a Boston printer, who purchased the outfit of Fletcher before referred to, was for a time a partner of Mrs. Draper. Young John Howe succeeded him and was manager of her business in Boston, when the revolutionists besieged that city in 1775. When the evacuation of Boston was decided on, he took with him to Halifax, Miss Minus a girl of 16, and married her on the way. In January 1781 he started the *Halifax Journal*, which had a continuous existence down to about 1870. For years from the beginning of the century he was not only publisher of the *Journal* and the *Gazette* but filled the important posts of King's printer, postmaster and magistrate, and a few months before his death in 1835 "he had seen his youngest son, Nova Scotia's greatest journalist, carried home in triumph by the Halifax populace after a signal victory in behalf of the liberty and independence of the press of his Province." He was 82 when he died. William Minus, Mrs. Howe's brother, who came as a mere lad with the loyalists from Boston, and who was an apprentice in Howe's office, started out for himself in 1786 as publisher of the *Weekly Chronicle* at Halifax. There were thus at this period three papers in Halifax, the *Chronicle*, *Gazette* and *Journal*, and it is remarkable, as illustrating the vicissitudes of journalism, that the only three other papers published in the Province were in a town in which for a long internal afterwards down to last year, there was not a single paper.* This was Shelburne, in which was published the *Royal American Gazette*, the *Port Roseway*

* The *Shelburne Budget* was started only in 1890, but will, we trust, bring a journalistic renaissance for the old Acadian town.

Gazette and Shelburne Advertiser, and the *Nova Scotia Packet and General Advertiser*, the promoters all being loyalists. One of the partners in the first-named paper was Nathaniel Mills, the grand-uncle of Hon. David Mills, of Ontario; and the printer of the last named was James Humphreys, who during the war published at Philadelphia, the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, and whose loyalist sympathies made it such a mark for the violence of the revolutionists that the office was sacked and the owner maltreated, imprisoned and then driven out of the state. He found a haven of refuge in Shelburne, but it was not to be expected that Shelburne then afforded ground in which three papers could take root; and so before the new century had well dawned all three had passed over the bourne, and we find poor Humphreys,—exiled once by violence and once again by neglect or want of employment—returning at last to Philadelphia to die in the home of his boyhood.

It will have been noticed how intimate were the relations of the early press of Nova Scotia and New England, an intimacy which is as marked now as it was over a hundred year ago, with this difference that while New Englanders first gave life to the journalism of Nova Scotia, the journalists of Nova Scotia, and of the other Maritime Provinces, are renewing the life of the New England papers of to-day, for the number of "province men" who have been called to honorable positions on the press of the Eastern States is remarkable.

The first paper printed in New Brunswick was the *Royal St. John's Gazette and Nova Scotia Intelligencer*, which appeared on Thursday, Dec. 17, 1783, while as yet the region now known as New Brunswick was part of Nova Scotia, but as this section of old Acadia was constituted a province in the following year it is treated here as already existing. This paper was published by Lewis and Ryan whose names appear in 1784 as the publishers of a second paper the *Royal New Brunswick Gazette and General Advertiser*. In style they were much like the Nova Scotia papers of the period. In 1785 the *Royal Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* was published by Christopher Sower, the first King's printer of the Province. Sower was born at Germantown, Pa., and brought up to the business of printing. In the war of the Revolution his property was confiscated, and when the war was over he went to London, where, upon his case being looked into, he was rewarded for his loyalty with the double office of deputy postmaster and King's printer, and was also given the commission of a Colonel. He came out to the Province in 1784, and built a two-storey log house which served him both for a dwelling and printing office. In this office the journals of the legislature and

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all the official printing was carried on, and from here he issued in 1786 the first almanac printed in the province if not the first in the Dominion. Sower belonged to the peculiar Baptist sect known as the Tunkers. The inland mails were then despatched once a fortnight as far as Fredericton, and thence they were sent to Canada. When Sower built his log printing office, which was situated outside the town, he left the post office in charge of a man who was a business partner of General Benedict Arnold when that worthy lived in St. John. Early in 1799 Sower went to Philadelphia to arrange for a partnership in a type foundry when he was stricken with apoplexy and died there. Between 1785 and 1808 seven papers more or less short lived appeared in New Brunswick, of which one was started in Fredericton. It was called the *Fredericton Telegraph* and was bought out in 1806 by Michael Ryan, who two years before had made an essay at newspaper publishing in St. John.

In 1811 the *New Brunswick Courier* was started by Henry Chubb, who was long identified with the journalism of the Province, and whose paper was the first that was financially successful. The first marriage notice in the Province appeared in this paper, 2nd April, 1811, announcing the marriage of Capt. Robert Moodie of the 104th Regiment, to Frances, third daughter of Hon. George Sproule, Surveyor General. This was the Capt. Moodie who, having removed to Upper Canada, was fated to be the first whose blood was shed in the rebellion of 1837. He was hastening to give information of the attack meditated by William Lyon Mackenzie, when he was stopped by one of Mackenzie's guards and was shot dead as he was firing a pistol at the guard.

It is worthy of passing remark that Henry Anderson, who was born in St. John and learned his trade in the *Courier* office, was chief partner of the firm of Anderson & Smith, the printers of the two first one-cent papers in America, the *N. Y. Sun* and *Transcript*, and was a partner in the firm of Bennett, Anderson & Smith who brought out the *N. Y. Herald* in 1835. Another graduate of the *Courier* office was Robert Sears, afterwards of Toronto, who became security for the first press bought by the projectors of the *N. Y. Herald*. Among the other early papers of New Brunswick outside of St. John was the *St. Andrew's Herald* started in 1819,—whose first editor J. M. Cochren was succeeded by David Howe, a brother of Hon. Joseph Howe—and the *Miramichi Mercury* started in 1825 and afterwards changed to the *Gleaner*.

New Brunswick claims the honor of having had the first penny paper in any of the British Colonies, and the third, it is said, on the continent of America. This was the *Morning News*, started in St.

John in 1839 by Mr. Geo. E. Fenety, a veteran journalist who is still actively engaged in work at Fredericton as Queen's printer for the Province, a position he has held since 1863. The *News* which first appeared as a tri-weekly and in 1841 was issued daily for a time, engaged at once in a valiant fight for responsible government which was achieved, after fifteen years of unwavering advocacy, in 1855. The *News* was one of the few papers which disdained any dependence on Government advertising, but it was conducted with such spirit and so gained the confidence of the people that, starting with a capital of a few hundred dollars it became a property worth thousands. The *News* was the first morning daily in the Maritime Provinces, and was followed the next year by the *Morning Herald* in Halifax. The founder of the Fredericton *Reporter* which came out in 1844 was James Hogg, a relative of the poet Hogg the "Ettrick Shepherd," and himself a gifted writer of verse. A volume of his poems was one of the first books issued from a New Brunswick press.

The first paper printed in Prince Edward Island was the *Royal Gazette*, issued in 1791 at Charlottetown, the capital of what was then known as the Island of St. John—the whole Island containing not more than 4,000 souls. This paper was of course the official organ of the Government, and had a circulation of 50 copies, but the first regular newspaper in the Island was the *Register*, established in 1823 by James D. Hazard, a public spirited man who spent much of his means in improving the condition of the settlers. He not only started the first newspaper, but built the first carding and cloth-dressing mill, and introduced many improvements in the methods of farming. During the famine in the Island in 1837 he relieved many destitute families from his own means. While the pioneers of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick journalism were United Empire Loyalists, he was the son of a loyalist who had proved his attachment to the Empire by refusing to accept his confiscated property, when offered back to him on condition that he would become an American. For some years Mr. Hazard published the *Royal Gazette* and *Hazard's Gazette*. As late as 1834 two newspapers supplied the wants of the Island of which Montgomery Martin in his history wrote: "There are two newspapers well conducted; but as may naturally be expected in a free community, with some party feeling."

Leaving the Maritime Provinces and going westward to Quebec we find a mine of romantic journalistic history upon which, in so brief a sketch, our work can only be that of the prospector. The *Quebec Gazette*, started in Quebec city, dates back to 1764 on the longest day of which year, 21st of June, it made its first appearance. The publishers, Brown and Gilmore had in the previous year prepared the ground by circulating a prospectus, printed in Philadelphia, where they had been following "the art and mystery of printing." Canada had hardly been added to Great Britain before our printers conceived the grand idea of filling "the long felt want" in the new colony. The following were the leading points in their address, the style of typography being followed as near as our modern fonts will admit :

"As every considerate Mind is solicitous to know the state of the World about him, and the Circumstances of the several Nations, joint Inhabitants of the Universe with him, so it must be an additional Satisfaction to be acquainted from time to time with the Events and important Transactions in the different Quarters of the Globe ; and tho' the Ferment into which all Europe was lately thrown by the Calamities of a general War, is now happily subsided, yet there is an inherent Propensity lodged in every Breast, to pry into the daily Events that happen in the World, and even into Futurity itself : This Principle can only be gratified in its most extensive Latitude by means of the Press. * * * * *

'By means of the Press we can sit at Home and acquaint ourselves with what is done in all the distant Parts of the World, and find what our Fathers did long ago, in the first Ages of Mankind ; by this Means a Briton holds Correspondence with his Friends in *America* or *Japan*, and manages all his Business ; it is this which brings all the past Ages of Men at once upon the Stage, and makes the most distant Nations and Ages converse together, and grow into Acquaintance.' Wherefore a well regulated Printing Office has always been considered as a public Benefit, insomuch that no Place of Note in the *English* Dominions is at this Day destitute of the Advantages arising therefrom." Having laid down these premise they proceed : "Much might be said in enumerating the peculiar Advantages that must in a more particular Manner result from the Establishment of a Printing Office in Quebec, whether we consider it as the most effectual Means of bringing about a thorough Knowledge of the *English* and *French* Language to those of the two Nations now happily united in one in this Part of the World ; by which Means they will be enabled to converse with, and communicate their Sentiments to each other as Brethren, and carry on their different Transactions

in Life with Ease and Satisfaction : or as the Means only of bringing to their Knowledge the Transactions of the different and most distant Nations of the World, of which they must otherwise remain almost entirely ignorant. Our Design is, in Case we are fortunate enough to succeed, early in the Spring to settle in this City in the Capacity of Printers, and forthwith to publish a weekly Newspaper ; which as the present Condition of the Country renders it in a great Measure Necessary, we purpose to publish in *French* and *English*. This Method will afford a weekly Lesson for Improvement to any Inhabitant willing to attain to a thorough Knowledge in the Language of the Place, different from that of his Mother Tongue, whether *French* or *English*. * * * But as our coming hither and setting up a compleat Printing Office, will be attended with a much greater Expense than our present Circumstances will admit of, we offer the following Proposals to the Inhabitants of this Place, their Encouragement of which will determine our settling among them : *First*, that as soon as three hundred Subscribers for the Newspaper can be procured, we will engage to set up a genteel Printing Office, in some convenient Part of *Quebec*, consisting of a good Assortment of new Types, a good Press, and all other Materials necessary for carrying on said Business in the most extensive Manner, and with Expedition. *Secondly*, that the price to Subscribers, shall be—per Year current Money of *Canada*. *Thirdly*, such of the Subscribers as may choose, are at full Liberty to withdraw their Subscriptions at the end of the first Year, and at the end of every succeeding half Year, as they may choose. *Fourthly*, no Money will be required, till such Time as the Paper is actually on Foot, when it is expected, that each Subscriber will advance one half of the Year's Subscription Money, the better to enable the Printers to prosecute the Work. *Fifthly*, our best Endeavours shall be used to convey our Papers to such Subscribers as may reside in *Montreal*, and even in the remotest Parts of the Country, till such Time as there can be regular Messengers procured for these Places."

As the paper was published in due course it is presumed that the necessary 300 subscribers were obtained, or nearly as many. How the printing plant was conveyed and the circumstances under which the first numbers of the *Quebec Gazette* were issued must unfortunately be reckoned among the lost chapters of Canadian newspaper history. All we can gather is from the paper itself. The salutatory article in the first number concluded thus :—“ Our intentions to please the *whole*, without Offence to any *individual* will be better evinced by our practice, than by writing Volumes on this Subject. This one thing we beg may be believed, that **PARTY PREJUDICE OR PRIVATE SCANDAL**, will never find a place in this **PAPER**.”

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Its aims were certainly higher in this respect than too many papers floated on the tide of the reading public in modern days. As the prospectus was issued in French and English, so was the paper printed, a column of English and a column of French being on each page, the size of which was 12 by 18 inches. There were four pages and the contents of the first number were the introductory article, some items of foreign news and three advertisements. The latest news from Europe was to about the middle of April, and from New York the 7th of May:—showing incidentally that it took over a month, (from 21st June) even in summer, to reach Quebec from that city. In the London news there was a short report of "a scheme of taxation of our American Colonies," which led up to the Revolution of 1776. One of the three advertisements was a notice that "on Sunday the 24th being the festival of St. John, such strange brethren who may have a desire of joining the Merchants' Lodge No. 1, Quebec, may obtain liberty by applying to Miles Prentiss at the Sun, in St. John's Street, who has tickets price five shillings for that day." The question very naturally arises what were these brethren going to do on a Sunday, and what privileges, exercises or offices were those in connection with which tickets of admission at five shillings each were necessary. It is not a little remarkable that one of the announcements in the first issue of a Quebec paper related to the anniversary of a Saint which has superseded all others in the estimation of the French people of to day.

The only commercial advertisement was an announcement by John Baird that he had "just imported from London and to be sold at the lowest prices in the upper part of Mr. Henry Morin's house at the entry to the Cul de Sac, an assortment of g' ods ** suitable for this market." Then the advertiser gave a list of articles ranging from "calemancoes, durants, tammies, vomals, leather breeches, Persian taffeties and nankeens," to nails, frying-pans, buckles, buttons, soap and vinegar. Many of the names such as those just quoted have long since passed out of the nomenclature of the drapery trade, and although we know what was meant by his "cotton-week" and his "scarlet and buffed mull'd hose and mitts," yet there are few lady shoppers of to-day who would understand his announcements concerning "cades, shalloons, molletons and ratteens." We find a delightful diversity in his catalogue of goods, and the reader can only think that if his hair-powder and gun-powder were as closely associated in his stock, as in his advertisement, the contents of this upper room must have proved a curious variety shop. The second issue contained a number of new advertisements, among others one from "William Laing, Taylor from London," who thought

it his duty "to acquaint the public that he now carries on his trade at the sign of the Crown in the back street that leads from the wall of the Seminary to St. John's Street." He assures those who shall favor him with their patronage that they may "depend upon having their cloaths made compleatly, and at a reasonable rate by their most obedient servant," and in an N.B., he takes occasion to add that "his wife carries on her business of mantle making in all its branches and the newest fashions." Another announcement was by Germain Langlois, who notified the public that he had opened a circulating library of several hundred volumes in French and English, the terms of membership being six pence a week, Halifax currency. There is but little doubt that this was the first library of the kind in Canada.

The people of that day were devotees of the dance for we read in one of the issues of November, that the "Sons of St. Andrew in the town of Quebec, purpose to meet at the Concert Hall, and have a dance on the 30th inst. at six o'clock at night, where they will be glad to see all the other gentlemen of the place." The announcement of another entertainment is worthy of notice. It was made by the young ladies of a locality called La Côte, who bore the appellation of Shepherdesses and who proposed to give a magnificent composite entertainment consisting of a comedy, character dances, a cantata, a duett, and a solo, to be followed by a grand ball. To provide accommodation four barns had been joined together and fitted up, and the Shepherdesses had put aside their pin-money for one year in order to make the fête a success. Tickets limited to one hundred were to be four dollars apiece, but twenty complimentary tickets were to be given to ladies unable to pay. Here was a considerateness not common at the present day, towards those deserving ones who had not the means of enjoying public entertainments. By way of contrast the following letter which, though quaintly worded is evidently serious, gives voice to a domestic evil which evidently existed then as now:—

"*To the Printers of the Quebec Gazette.*
Gentlemen,

By giving the following a place in your paper you will oblige several of your customers. It is a prevailing custom in this Garrison of inviting one another to Balls, Dances, House-warmings and so forth. I am one of these unhappy men that is often favoured (as they please to call it) with a card, and as I am a married man it occasions a great many disputes between me and my wife; she blames me as sullen, dull and insipid, having no taste for gaiety. On the other hand I remonstrate on her extravagance, finding that if I spend two or three

dollars once or twice a week, this being but a small reckoning at such, it does not tally with my income. I am not the least of opinion that those gentlemen that honour me with such cards regard my welfare, therefore I caution them as they love my peace, prosperity and the welfare of my family, that they would desist so as I may not be brought to dismal want through such practices which no doubt would be very disagreeable to those who out of good nature had invited me to my ruin."

Another correspondent, George Acasto, protests against the riotous drunkenness which characterized the social entertainments of that day. After complimenting Quebec Society on the liberality of their entertainments he laments that at these gatherings "men are excited and provoked by healths and rounds of toasts oft repeated to fuddle themselves in as indecent a manner as if they were in a tavern or in the most unpolished company. * * * * * Without mentioning certain words which are not allowable when sober, men do not hesitate to create a needless expense to themselves by a breaking and destroying furniture, and what is extraordinary, this is done through gaiety, I will even say that some affect wit in so doing." Apostrophizing the printers, he concludes, "Pray gentlemen, let them know that there is no wit where reason is wanting."

We have an announcement of Father Abraham's Almanac for 1765, among the table of contents of which are mentioned: "Receipts on Physic—Be Merry and Wise, or a guide to all mankind—an entertaining dialogue between a city Termigan and her distrustful spouse on gossiping—Mahomet's night journey to Heaven faithfully extracted from the Alcoran—Verses on the Death of the Author's much lamented monkey," etc. Was this the Abraham after whom the "Plains of Abraham" were called?

Small cuts of a house accompanied advertisements of a house to let. Tiny pictures supposed to represent a horse decorated announcements of stray horses; and announcements of ships' departures had cuts of vessels that looked like Chinese junks. Even little notices of runaway negro slaves had tiny but curious cuts of black figures "on the run." As in Halifax, so in Quebec, there was traffic in those days in slaves and several advertisements appear offering negro boys and men for sale.

One Justin Frank, of the Lower Town Market Place, who appears to have been one of the "characters" of the town, inserted some ludicrous advertisements of which the following is a sample: "Wanted between this and January next, six or eight hundred dollars upon interest and good security, or a good Woman for a Wife, of about 3 or 4 cwt. French weight. If she has Two or Three

Hundred Louis d'ors, Portugeese or Doubloons it matters not if she weighs but 25 or 30 lbs., or a genteel English, Scotch, Dutch or French girl of middle size and age fit for the care of a House Shop, used to confinement and keeping of her tongue. Or any gentleman wishing to settle himself may with the advance of One Hundred Pounds and a proportionable stock of goods, enter into partnership. Or merchants and captains having goods to lodge or leave on terms or commission may have the necessary room. Failing any of the above niceties the advertiser has no objection against the offer of a good place in this Town's government, but thinks it an honour to serve and sell tobacco and axe-handles."

Here are some of the sentences passed at the Assizes in August 1776: "Joseph Butterfield, soldier, 52nd Regiment, convicted of manslaughter, to be burnt in the hand. John May, for stealing a pair of plush breeches and a pair of silk stockings, to be whipped at the cart-tail from the Court House to St. John's Gate. Louis Brusseau, for stealing a hatchet, pitch-pot, axe and adze out of a schooner, to be whipped from the Court House to St. Roch and back to Palace Gate. The curious feature of these proceedings was that one of the convicts was deputed to administer punishment to the other, as we read some days after this that John May was whipped by Louis Brusseau "agreeably to his sentence, and next day May flogged Brusseau in his turn." As examples of the severity of the Criminal Code we find more than one case where sentence of death was passed on persons convicted of assault and stealing from private houses, etc.

Such are a few items from the early numbers of the *Quebec Gazette*. One mail was despatched to and received from Montreal each week leaving Quebec on Monday for Montreal where it arrived on Wednesday and leaving next day on the return trip. A mail went to New York only twice a month.

At the time when the *Gazette* was established, Quebec, although the capital city and the chief centre of trade and manufactures, had a population slightly under seven thousand, while Montreal numbered but four thousand souls. Three Rivers had a population of fifteen hundred, while the balance of the sixty thousand inhabitants of the Province were scattered up and down the St. Lawrence and its tributaries. Of the country people of the day Warburton says: "The Canadian peasantry were generally a healthy, simple and virtuous race but they were also extremely ignorant; indeed the jealousy of their rulers would never suffer a printing press to be erected in the country." This may partly account for the fact that no newspaper had been established until the advent of English rule,

and as not even a printing office existed during the French regime, all documents and announcements must have been circulated in manuscript. If the ancient rulers of New France discouraged or condemned the printing press, they were not singular in that sentiment, for only a few years before the date of which we write Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, gave utterance to this astounding declaration: "Thanks be to God, we have here neither free schools nor printing presses, and I hope we will not have any for a hundred years, for education has sent into the world doubt, heresy and sectarianism, and the printing press has propagated, in addition to all these evils, attacks against governments!"

The *Gazette* was published regularly down to a few years ago, its last publisher being Mr. Dawson, bookseller, and it was one of the few papers in the world—certainly less than a dozen—that was able to print a centennial issue, which it did in 1864, reproducing its first number. The second paper in Lower Canada and the first to be published in Montreal was the *Montreal Gazette*. It has been issued continuously since 1778 and is the oldest of the living papers in the Province. No less a personage than Benjamin Franklin was concerned in the founding of it. When the American colonies broke out in revolt they did their utmost to entice the French Canadians to join them, but the Canadians remembered that they had prospered under British rule and they remembered too that the Indian massacres of former years from which they had suffered were incited by these colonists who were now approaching as the only friends of the French Canadians. When the Americans gained possession of Montreal in 1776, the officer in command wrote to General Schuyler urging him to send to Canada some good generals, a good round sum of money and a printer. It was a testimony to the power of the press that, of these requisites, the printer alone was deemed sufficient to finish the conquest of Canada. A commission composed of Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and Rev. Charles Carroll was appointed by the Congress at Philadelphia to proceed to Montreal to found a newspaper. They brought with them the printing press, type, paper, etc., and arrived with their plant in April. Franklin wrote the matter and a Frenchman named Joseph Fleury de Mesplet set it up, the first production of the press being an appeal to the French Canadians to join the revolt. Franklin soon saw that the appeal was vain and left in May for Philadelphia, but Mesplet remained behind and set up his office in the old Chateau de Ramezay, which remains to-day as one of the few well-preserved relics of Montreal's early architecture. After printing some pamphlets and small works, Mesplet, in 1778, was encouraged to start a newspaper

of his own, and on the 3rd June the first number of the "Gazette du Commerce et Littéraire pour la Ville et District de Montreal" appeared. It was all in French except the printer's address to the public, a fact which showed how small the publisher's English constituency was at that time. In the course of his first address he says: "I will insert in the above paper or GAZETTE everything that one or more gentlemen will be pleased to communicate to me, provided always, no mention be made of religion, government, or news concerning the present affairs, unless I was authorized from government for so doing, my intention being only to confine myself in what concerns advertisements, commercial and literary affairs." The subscription price was "two and a half Spanish dollars per annum," while everyone not a subscriber might have the paper "at ten coppers each." Non-subscribers had to pay one and a half Spanish dollars for three insertions of an advertisement, while subscribers got the same for one Spanish dollar. The difficulties of newspaper publishing in those days were peculiar, for we find Mr. Mesplet in 1779 making these extraordinary explanations, in consequence of certain reflections in his paper made by the judge of the day: "There will not be printed in the paper a single paragraph tending to procure public instruction. Nor any reflection on the conduct of persons proposed by the government for the administration of justice, nor their judgments even though they should be known and proved to be against the laws, because this is none of our business, and you should submit, and consider their judgments with the eye of faith. Nor any work which would tend to destroy, or even to cast the least doubt upon their infallibility. Nor any writing in which it appears that we seek to diminish the civil despotism which they attribute to themselves: you should respect it. Nothing finally which could oblige individuals to keep within the limits of duty, of power and of honesty." A tolerably strong current of satire ran through this profession of submission, and it is not surprising that Mesplet broke out into plain writing later on. The authorities ordered him to quit the province, but afterward issued a notice "that the order to compel F. Mesplet, printer, to quit the province is suspended on certain conditions." These conditions were not carried out to the satisfaction of the powers, as in 1779 Governor Sir Guy Carleton in a letter from Quebec, to the Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, wrote that "he had thoughts of having Mesplet at once arrested but had listened to the solicitations from Montreal on his behalf," and that till other measures could be taken he had expressly forbidden the printer to "attack religion or the clergy, or insert anything in his sheet, the *Gazette*, which could shock good morals or foment

discord." Ten years after its foundation the *GAZETTE* was printed in English and French owing to the increase of the English element. At that time too a news-epoch was ushered in by the establishment of a weekly mail from Montreal and Quebec to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick during the summer months, the route being through Fredericton, St. John, Digby, Annapolis and Windsor to Halifax, the town of Horton being also named as in the route. What became of Mesplet is not known, but it is certain the authorities regarded him as a fire-brand and more than once threatened him with expulsion from the province. The *Gazette* passed into the hands of Lewis Roy about 1794, and after he died it became the property of E. Edwards, both of whom had learned their trade in the office of the Quebec *Gazette*. The third paper to appear in this province was the Quebec *Mercury*, founded by Thomas Cary, in January 1805. The remarkable feature in its history has been that it remained in the Cary Family through three generations, Mr. George T. Cary, grandson of the original founder having relinquished it only a short time ago. The Carys were able journalists—men who seemed to be born to the calling. The early volumes of this paper were in striking contrast to those of its British American contemporaries. The news columns of all the other papers contained, in their early days, very little that gives us an insight into local events, and it is to the advertisements alone that we look for indications of the conditions of life at this period. In the *Mercury* however, a great deal of original matter is to be found throwing a light on the social and other conditions of the province at the beginning of this century. This paper also exhibited much wit, humor and clever satire. Thomas Cary the elder was born near Bristol, England, in 1751. Coming to Quebec in 1804 he founded the *Mercury* as an organ of the views of the English inhabitants who, though few, were wealthy and influential. His views were those of a high Tory and an Episcopalian, and his methods of promulgating them were dauntless and intrepid. Once an article of his was brought to the notice of the House of Assembly and was pronounced a libel by a unanimous vote. This having no effect upon him, a second libel appeared and a Speaker's warrant was issued for his arrest. But Cary concealed himself till the close of the session in a secret apartment ingeniously built in his house, and from this mysterious hole he poured forth a flood of the sarcasm and wit for which he was noted, while the officers of the House vainly sought to apprehend him. The late Hon. Thomas White informs us that the press on which the first numbers of the *Mercury* were worked was built of wood, and the ink was distributed by a pair of composition balls instead of rollers. From the beginning of this

century new papers came into existence both in French and English at the rate of about one a year down to 1834, but between that date and 1840 no less than nineteen new papers were started as a result of the political upheavals which led to the Rebellion of 1837. The editors of this period were men of more than average ability, and of more than average public spirit, and we find that many of them suffered great sacrifices in performing what they conceived to be their duty. We read so frequently of riots, disturbances, and the arrest and imprisonment of editors, that to give a fair insight into the editorial life of this time, would be to write a political history of the country. One of the first penny papers of the province was the *Montreal Transcript*, started as a tri-weekly in 1835. At the end of three weeks, and through the failure of the founder—a young man named Wilson—it fell into the hands of John Lovell, and became a journal of great power and popularity for many years. In 1865 Mr. Lovell was induced by flattering promises to issue it as a daily, tri-weekly and weekly, but these promises were not fulfilled by his so-called supporters and in 1872 he dropped it with a loss of over sixty thousand dollars, an experience which has been repeated on a smaller scale by many publishers in every province of Canada. Mr. Lovell is still living and is actively engaged in business as the oldest printer and publisher in the Dominion. He may well be called the patriarch of the Canadian printing and publishing trades.

The oldest Canadian paper published in French and maintained exclusively in that language in the interests of the French Canadian people was *Le Canadien* of Quebec, which first appeared in November, 1806, and was published in Quebec down to 1891, when it was moved in Montreal. It is not only the oldest French Canadian paper, but it may be said to have been the first political party paper in this province, if not in the Dominion. Its first editor Hon. Pierre Bedard,—one of the first of his race to be called to the Bar of Canada—fearlessly attacked the government of the day, till in 1810 the paper was seized by the authorities and he was imprisoned. He was refused a trial and was kept in jail for a long period, and the plant of the paper was broken up. After seven years the other partners got together the remnants of the plant and revived the *Canadien*, but its career of opposition was again more than once checked by the interference of the government, and François Blanchet, another of its editors, who introduced the first Education Bill passed in Lower Canada, was imprisoned along with his associates, and the paper was suspended by order of the authorities two or three times.

The mortality of the early French Canadian papers was very great. Out of an incomplete list of over seventy papers, which a

writer compiled as being established previous to 1851, only three remain to this day, while the great majority lived but two or three years, many of them but a few months. Instances are not wanting, however, where these early editors or publishers showed great perseverance and persistence, for no sooner were they placed *hors de combat* on one line of policy than they took up the struggle for existence on some new idea. Michel Bibaud—a descendant of an old French family—born in Montreal in 1792, was an instance of this. After being a contributor to the *Spectateur Canadien* he founded *L'Aurore des Canadas* in 1815, and when this died in 1819, he edited *Le Courrier du Bas Canada* which was established in its stead. During his career he originated no less than six papers, some literary, some political, and one social; his last publication the *Encyclopédie Canadienne*, having lived less than a year. During the balance of his life he wrote upon historical subjects, contributed to several periodicals, and when he died left a son who also became a journalist and historian.

The first daily paper of the province of Quebec,—and in fact of the whole Dominion—was the *Daily Advertiser*, established in Montreal in 1833 by the Hon. H. S. Chapman, a self-educated Englishman, who on his return to England the next year received an appointment as a parliamentary commissioner, and afterwards became Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand and Colonial Secretary of Tasmania.

It is noteworthy that while the first paper in English in Quebec was printed by a Frenchman, the first paper issued in what is now the Province of Ontario, was printed by a French Canadian. This was the *Upper Canada Gazette or American Oracle*, issued in 1793 at Niagara, by Louis Roy. Its birth was exactly a century after that of the first paper published in New York. Niagara (old Newark) was then the capital of the Province which had only two years before been separated from Lower Canada by the act of William Pitt. The first numbers of this journal were printed on coarse stout paper, being a single folio sheet of fifteen by nineteen and a half inches, but the typography was better than that of the ordinary papers of the period. The publisher set out with the ambitious intention of "combining with a record of the acts of the new government an account of the principal events on the Continent and in the world generally." In his salutatory article the editor announced that the "flattering prospect he had of an extensive sale for his new undertaking had enabled him to augment the size originally proposed, from a demi-

quarto to a folio." He assured those disposed to assist him, that they should be "flattered in becoming the vehicle of intelligence in this growing province." In order, as he said, to preserve the veracity of his paper, he insisted that "all transactions of a domestic nature such as marriages, births, deaths, &c., be communicated under real signatures," from which we infer that the hoaxter was thus early abroad in Upper Canada. The subscription price was three dollars per annum, and "all advertisements inserted in it, not exceeding twelve lines, will pay four shillings, Quebec currency, and for every additional line a proportionable price." Among the advertisements of the first year was one announcing the establishment of a Brewery "under the sanction of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor," and offering one dollar a bushel to farmers for all "barley grain they might sow." Another quaintly informs "all who propose to build houses, that he hath laths, planks and scantlings." Roy* gave up the *Gazette* within a year, and G. Tiffany took his place. By 1798 it had assumed the quarto form and was dated West Niagara, a name then newly applied to the place. The reader who misses the issue of April the 29th will find this explanation on the fifth of May. "The printer's having been called to York last week upon business, is humbly tendered to his readers as an apology for this *Gazette*'s not appearing."

York, it may be noticed, was then a rising rival of Niagara—both of them yet mere villages—and when in 1799 the seat of government was removed to York, the *Gazette* was moved with it. But such was the jealousy existing between the two places that Niagara was not left long without a successor to the *Gazette*, and we find S. & G. Tiffany starting *The Canada Constellation*. In the first number, printed in July 1800, the publisher spoke of establishing "a postal system of their own," a phrase which might suggest to the modern reader a sort of independent post office department, but which in the minds of the Tiffany Bros. only meant the establishment of a stage service to Ancaster and the Grand River, and Fort Erie. They state that "they propose to hire men to perform the routes as soon as the subscribers will allow the expense." To sneer at the ambition of the new-made capital across the lake was evidently popular with the readers of the *Constellation*. One correspondent, speaking of the roads in York, said the Stump Act ought to be enforced, and a Captain Peeke who transported lime in his vessel from Duffin's Creek, published a complaint that whenever his sailors were missed from his craft, he would find they had gone to York, got drunk and would be found digging up pine roots in the streets—

* I assume this be the same Roy who appears in 1794 as publisher of the *Montreal Gazette*.

the magistrate having sentenced them to this penalty under the Stump Act. After existing one year the *Constellation* expired of starvation, we are told, "its publishers departing too much from its constitution—advance pay." It was succeeded by the *Herald*, one of the Tiffanys being still the printer. More than one issue was made upon blue wrapping paper. The *Gleaner*, the *Spectator*, and the *Reporter* followed each other in fitful succession, and the influence of Niagara as a newspaper centre gradually dwindled in after years until to-day the place has neither a newspaper nor job-printing office. Tiffany's old imposing-stone remained alone an interesting relic of this epoch and did duty in the Toronto *Mail* office till 1870.

That York felt its disadvantages compared with Niagara for some time was apparent at least to the publishers, for the editor of the *Gazette* makes this complaint in the issue next before Christmas 1801: "It is much to be lamented that communication between Niagara and this town is so irregular and unfrequent. Opportunities now do not often occur of receiving the American papers from our correspondents and thereby prevents us for the present from laying before our readers the state of politics in Europe." Niagara was still the avenue of intelligence from the outer world, and the entry port of commerce for York, and the dependence of little York upon its rival was manifested about this time in the forlorn aspect of the *Gazette*, which had run short of paper and was reduced to using blue wrapping paper for six weeks in the winter while navigation was closed.

If space permitted we might present to the reader many a quaint extract from the pages of those early papers, reflecting the changes that have taken place in the methods of conducting public business. One instance may be given. In 1804 an election was held for the county of Durham, the east riding of York and the county of Simcoe, (the whole of which territory was represented then by one member) and the writ directed the returning officer "to cause one true knight, girt with a sword, the most fit and discreet to be freely and indifferently chosen to represent the aforesaid county, riding and county in the Assembly, by those who shall be present on the day of the election." This sample of the peculiar style of marriage notice in vogue is taken from another issue: "Married last Monday, Oct. 1799, by the Rev. Mr. Addison, Colonel Smith of the Queen's Rangers, to the most agreeable and accomplished Miss Mary Clarke." In 1813 the name of the *Gazette* was changed to the *York Gazette* and when the invasion of this part of the province was threatened by the Americans in the war then raging, the printing office was moved into Andrew Mercer's college. Upon the invaders capturing York

the troops broke the press to pieces and scattered the type. So far as the writer has been able to learn, it was not till 1817 that a newspaper was again published in York. In this year a Dr. Horne, who had been an Army Surgeon in the Glengarry Light Infantry, undertook the editorship of the revived paper which was called the *Upper Canada Gazette*. In the year 1807 York had another paper, the *Upper Canada Guardian* or *Freeman's Journal*, whose founder, Joseph Willcocks, had been sheriff of the Home District, but had lost his office by daring to vote contrary to the policy of the government. Being thrown upon the world he became an editor and was elected to the Legislature. The government made his pathway one of thorns, however, and he was soon imprisoned for a breach of privilege, but was elected again. As a result of a quarrel he was challenged to a duel by a relative, Charles Willcocks. He did not appear at the place appointed, but was fated nevertheless to die by a bullet. When the war of 1812 broke out, his paper died in the excitement of the time, and Willcocks, having deserted to the Americans, and led away some of the militia with him, was killed by the British in a sortie from Fort Erie.

Among the other early papers of York was the *Observer*, founded by John Carey, who in the prospectus of his paper in 1820, introduced himself to the public as "the person who gave the debates, reported in the *Gazette*." This was probably the first parliamentary reporting done in Canada.

Copying the harsh policy then prevailing in Europe, the Provincial Government of the day was extremely intolerant towards the newspapers. Many cases of this intolerance might be cited. Francis Collins, an enterprising young man, who, from being in the employ of the *Gazette*, founded a neat little paper which he set up for himself, mentally composing his editorials as he set, once used the expression "native malignity of the Attorney-General." He was thrown into jail, but owing to an unusual impulse of leniency on the part of the government, he was allowed to have his cases of type in jail and to set up his articles in the cell so that his paper appeared regularly during the several months of his imprisonment. A brief paragraph in the *Kingston Chronicle* of 1820 shows that other editors who fell into the arbitrary hands of the government did not fare so well. We there read that Barnabas Ferguson, editor of the *Niagara Spectator* was condemned, "for a libel on the Government" to "18 months in jail; to stand in the Pillory once during his confinement; to pay a fine of £50 and remain in prison till paid; and on his liberation to find security for good conduct for seven years, himself in £500, and two sureties of £250 each."

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It is in 1824 that the turbulent William Lyon Mackenzie appears in the arena as editor of the *Advocate*. True to his character he at once falls foul of the *Gazette*. In one of his first articles he points out the fact that Mr. Fothergill, then editor of the *Gazette*, was the King's printer and at the same time a member of parliament, and said that while such things were permitted it was little wonder that the country languished in comparative stupor while our enterprising neighbors across the line were laughing us to scorn.

The kind of hornet's nest which this stirred up may be imagined from the following choleric outburst of the *Gazette*. "This paper of motley unconnected shake-bag periods!—this unblushing, brazen-faced *Advocate*—affects to be a Queenston and Upper Canada paper, whereas it is to all intents and purposes and radically a Lewiston and genuwine Yankee paper! How can this man of truth, this pure and holy reformer and regenerator of the unhappy and prostrate Canada reconcile such bare-faced and impudent deception?" The allusion here is to the fact that Mr. Mackenzie's paper had before this (1824) been published at Queenston, but though dated from there was printed at Lewiston on the American side of the Niagara River. Mr. Mackenzie's blow, however, told in this case, as it did in most others, and scarcely a year had elapsed before Mr. Fothergill* was dismissed from the office of King's printer by Sir Peregrine Maitland.

William Lyon Mackenzie was, in some respects, the most notable character in the annals of Canadian newspapers; and from a study of his life one may gather grave lessons on the responsibilities that weigh upon those who start out in the career of journalism. Although good came out of evil in the rebellion of 1837, and although Mr. Mackenzie was an unselfish man, filled with a noble spirit of independence, there can be little doubt that had he been more patient and temperate in his methods and persevered in constitutional agitation, the reforms which are credited to the rebellion would have been brought about without the shedding of blood or the years of bitter feeling which all civil conflicts excite. Mr. Mackenzie was honest and candid enough to confess in after years the mistakes of his life when he said, "Had I passed the nine years in the United States before instead of after the outbreak, I am very sure I would have been the last man in America to be engaged in it. * * *

A course of careful observation during the last eleven years has fully

* Mr. Fothergill was an able man and probably deserved more consideration than he received at the hands of the Government. He was a Quaker, and a man of cultivated tastes. He was quite a naturalist, had collected an interesting museum and left behind him several manuscript volumes on natural history. He also designed to publish a Canadian Annual Register but was never able to carry out his design.

satisfied me that had the violent movements in which I and many others were engaged on both sides of the Niagara proved successful, that success would have deeply injured the people of Canada, whom I then believed I was serving at great risks. * * * *

There is not a living man on this continent who more sincerely desires that British government in Canada may long continue and give a home and a welcome to the old countryman, than myself." Mr. Mackenzie's defect—a most serious one for a public man possessing much force of character—was that he was intolerant of the opinions and sentiments of others. "He strove to do whatever he himself thought right, and those who differed from him he denounced in the most unmeasured terms."* Those familiar with the literature of the rebellion will not need quotations from his writings to be convinced of this. During his banishment in the States he published at Rochester for circulation in Canada, the "Caroline Almanac," and in the issue for 1840 there was this reference to those of his compatriots who were killed or hanged: "All these murders of the virtuous Canadians are urged on by the bloody Queen of England, who is as keen for spilling Canadian blood as her mad old grandfather, George III." The excitement of the time could scarcely be wondered at when such language as this fell upon Tory ears—but as before said, Mackenzie himself lived to realize and to rue the intemperance and injustice of such writings. The "Caroline Almanac" was a curious publication altogether. On the cover was a picture of the steamer *Caroline* as she was going over Niagara Falls, and in the foreground was a prostrate figure, supposed to be the dead body of Amos Durfee lying on his face on the wharf at Fort Schlosser, N.Y. A burlesque description of the British Cabinet was followed by a picture representing Mackenzie's colleagues, Lount and Matthews, as dangling from a scaffold, at the foot of which Indians were brandishing their tomahawks, while from within the grated windows of a jail, horror-stricken faces gazed "like antique masks of tragedy." Mr. Mackenzie had a taste for caricature and while he edited the *Constitution* he was wont to display in the window of his stationery shop, which he carried on in connection with his paper, the most harrowing pictures foreshadowing the future state of his political opponents. The governor—whom he referred to in his paper as "this Mr. What-do-they-call-him — Francis Bond Head" — and others were depicted as "squirming in the furies of a very realistic hell, relieved now and then by a light and sportive sketch of the devil flying away with one or more of them transfixed by his barbed tail." Had our modern facilities for illustrating existed then, his papers

* "Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer."

would have been a study. As it was, the style of his early editorial work showed the pent up energy and versatility of his character. In his editorials, which were scattered in all parts of his paper, he often broke out in the first person and emphasized his words by capitals, large and small, by italics, by index fingers, and all other typographical symbols that could direct special attention to his writings. His industry was remarkable. He clipped facts and figures from all sources and had them arranged in scrap books for reference and for use when occasion came. "I have seen him" said the late Wm. Gillespy "sitting at his parliamentary desk, in his stocking feet, the busiest man in the house, with paste-pot and scissors before him, poring over exchanges or transferring cuttings to be commented on."

* * * None of them worked like Mackenzie." It was he who designed the arms of Toronto with its motto "Industry, Intelligence and Integrity," when he was elected first mayor of the new city in 1834, and he was the originator of Poor Richard's Almanac, which still exists in Yorkshire. The events of the rebellion, the inflammatory articles which excited the mob to sack his office and throw his press and type into Toronto Bay—for which he afterwards made the city pay damages—are familiar as matters of history; but it is not known to many that the old press was fished out of the bay, and was used down to a recent date by R. Matheson in printing the Clinton *New Era*.*

Another epoch in the history of Upper Canada newspapers began in the starting of the *Banner* at Toronto, by Peter Brown and his son, the Hon. George Brown, in 1843, and their founding of the *Globe* in the following year—the year, be it remarked, in which the public career of George Brown's great rival, Sir John Macdonald, also commenced. A man of great strength of character, of high aim and reverent mind was George Brown, and more should be known of his personality and professional career.

The first daily in Toronto was the *Telegraph*, which appeared in July 1840, its first issue being a sheet of four pages, about 6 x 8 inches, and containing not a single advertisement. It was printed by H. C. Grant, and was sold at a penny.

Very early in the century, Kingston was an important newspaper centre, and for long periods its papers were more influential than those of York (Toronto). Its first paper, the *Gazette*, was established in 1801, and while the war of 1712 killed off all the papers of

* It is worth while to recall the fact that Mr. Mackenzie designed himself to be a merchant, not a journalist, but when the provincial university was projected, and it was proposed to make it sectarian, he was moved to issue a protest, and took up the newspaper as a means of doing it. To quote his own words, "The first paper I ever issued was a protest against binding down our projected university to the dogmas of any sect, whether of Oxford, Edinburg, Rome or Moscow."

York and Newark, it remained as the only paper published in Upper Canada between 1813 and 1817. The material for the *Gazette* was brought up from Montreal in seventeen of the primitive batteaux, then the only means of transportation, the voyage taking thirteen days. Its suspension gave birth, in 1819, to two papers, of which one was the *Chronicle*. Kingston has the oldest daily in the province, the *British Whig*, which had been started as a weekly in 1834, and was converted into a daily in January 1849, six months before the first Toronto daily was born. The *Whig*, which was from the beginning a paper of great power, has been in the same family since its establishment, E. J. B. Pense, its present publisher, being the grandson of the founder.

Casting our eyes westward to Manitoba we find the beginning of newspaper history in that province to be interesting to the verge of romance. The first papers of the province were started by men nearly all of whom are yet living,—many of them still young in years. What is now the Province of Manitoba, was up to 1870 known only as the "Red River Settlement," or the "North West," and consisted of but a few hundred people around Fort Garry (Winnipeg), or scattered along the Red River, a great part of whom were unlettered half breeds—but this tiny co'ony, a speck of an island in a vast and silent ocean of prairie, had its newspaper as early as 1859. This little paper, like a lighthouse in unknown waters, cast the first faint glimmers of light upon the people of the east, at a time when new desires were springing up for pioneering work and for the consolidation of the scattered provinces of British America. Already it had been proposed to the Home Government to erect the Red River Settlement (then under the autocratic sway of the Hudson Bay Co.) into a crown colony, and it was in fact the rumor of this design which inspired the project of a paper for this region, so far away and little known then to Canadians. Wm. Buckingham,—a journalist, who starting his career on the *Halifax, Eng., Guardian*, had been in Canada a number of years, had been t/a shorthand writer on the *Globe* and had founded the *Erie News* at Simcoe,—talked over this rumor with a newspaper friend, Wm. Coldwell, a reporter on the *Leader*. They came to the conclusion that if a local government were established at Red River, a printing office and paper would be one of the first essentials of the new government, and they were the men to pioneer the enterprise. The idea took such hold upon them that they determined to be on the spot and await the erection of the government rather than that the govern-

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ment should await the erection of the printing plant. Early as this was in the history of the territory, it had already been anticipated—though unknown at that time to them—by a newspaper man of Detroit, who, sometime before this, attempted to invade the settlement with a printing press, but taking the Lake Superior route, broke down with all his material at Sault Ste. Marie, and gave up the enterprise in despair. It was early in the autumn of 1859 that Buckingham and Coldwell arrived at St. Paul, Minn., from Toronto, and prepared to set out on the most remarkable journey ever taken in the founding of a newspaper on this continent. To save freight they determined to buy a good deal of their outfit at the most westerly point possible on their route, and this proved to be St. Paul, Minn. Before leaving Toronto, however, they had bought at auction an old Albion hand-press from the plant of the *Echo*, an English Church paper that had just been sold out by the sheriff, and to this item they added a lot of stationery bought from James Campbell, with the object of conducting a stationery business along with the paper.* In St. Paul they bought, at the office of the *Pioneer Press*, a quantity of type, cases, printing ink and paper, and their plant was completed by a few more supplies at St. Anthony's Falls (now Minneapolis). A considerable trade was now springing up between St. Paul and the settlements in the Hudson Bay territory, and some little interest was awakened by this enterprise, so that before its promoters left town they had secured several advertisements from St. Paul merchants to put sinews into their first issue. It was, in fact, a report that the merchants of St. Paul were combining to place a steamer on the Red River to reach Fort Garry from Fort Abercrombie this year that led our adventurous newspaper pioneers to choose this route. Mr. Buckingham says the steamer got there before them, but it was reported, while they were in St. Paul, that the experiment was a failure, and it was one of the many disappointments they had to face, that they fell back upon the ox-cart,—till then the only means of transport used in reaching the territory—rather than remain in St. Paul till navigation opened in the spring. These Red River carts were made completely of wood, even to the axles and the tires of the wheels, and were to be had for the low price of \$10 to \$20. A single ox drew them, and they carried from 700 to 900 lbs. The party were here joined by the Rev. John Black, who with his wife and little boy, and his sister-in-law Miss Ross—who afterwards became Mrs. Coldwell—were on their way back to Fort Garry from a visit to their old home in Upper

* Theirs proved to be the first stationery store as well as the first newspaper office in Manitoba.

Canada, but were likewise disappointed in getting the new steamer up the river, and wished to go with the printers to their destination. With three carts and a wagon laden with their plant, baggage, provisions, tents and bedding they made a start on the 28th of September, and a "wild start" it was, wrote one of the partners to a friend in Toronto, "for the oxen that were bought for the carts were wild as March hares, and not being used to the yoke they bolted off to the dismay of the drivers, spilling the paper and cases of type in the streets of St. Paul as they went. The type received such a distribution as it had not known before. When the oxen were caught and the type and paper gathered, they were lashed to the end of the big wagon, and amid the jeers of the boys and the good wishes of their elders another start was made." Night came on when they were still within sight of the town, and they pitched their first tent. They had not moved twenty yards next morning when a frantic ox broke the bows of a cart and smashed some of the trunks. They now sent back for a wagon and more docile oxen to take the place of two of the carts, and a fresh start was made. The next night their tent was pitched amid thunder, lightning and rain which lasted the whole night and from which they sought shelter in a cottage near by. Once the frontier settlements of Minnesota were left behind, the pilgrim printers found themselves alone on a vast deep of wilderness and prairie, without a solitary settlement in sight from day to day, and were only met occasionally by a pack of treacherous wolves or a band of what seemed to them equally treacherous Indians. Their route was by the "Crow Wing trail," in following which they struggled through swamps, worried around and across fallen trees and stumps, toiled up and raced down the sides of the Leaf Mountains, forded rivers with steep banks and boulder-strewn beds, or puzzled their way along crooked sand-bars, over which they went zig-zagging with occasional plunges into the depths alongside.

"Red Lake River," wrote Mr. Coldwell, describing the journey, "the wildest deepest, crookedest and swiftest, took some of us up to our necks, and nearly took me out of this vale of tears altogether." At first they made only 12 to 15 miles a day, but afterwards the rate was increased to 25. At night while one unyoked the oxen, another put up the tent, a third went for water while the others lit the fire and cooked the meal. The bill of fare was varied but not long. "In the morning, it was coffee, biscuit and pork; at noon, it was pork, coffee and biscuit, and at night, it was biscuit, pork and coffee. But the quantity and quality were there, and they ate enough to keep an army on the march." An hour after the supper they were all asleep--the teamsters lying curled up in blankets,

around the fires, with the star-lit sky for a ceiling ; the rest of the party in the tent, wrapped each in two or three blankets and an oil-cloth outside of them. The weather was generally beautiful, and the health of the party excellent. They obtained their first subscriber before they passed the boundary line. This was at Crow Wing, near the source of the Mississippi, in Minnesota, and the subscriber, strange to say, was an Indian chief, known by the weird name of Hole-in-the-day. The old chief, who was living with six wives —three very old, and three very young—in all the state of a Mormon bishop, received them very hospitably, and showed them into his parlor where he had no less than seventeen rocking-chairs and eight portraits, of which seven, drawn by an amateur, represented himself. "We entered his name on our list," wrote one of the editors, "and were tempted to write 'esquire' after it, for with a promptitude which many of our Pale-face subscribers would do well to imitate, he at once paid his money, and stated that ours was the only 'big news' to which he had ever subscribed."

The men of the party changed their shirts once a week and to do this, sought the cover of the nearest bush or some other hiding place "without the camp." Their hands were chapped in the sharp and frosty air of the night and morning, their shins were bruised from hard knocks and jolts, but with cheerful hearts they kept on, sometimes seeking variety in shooting some of the millions of wild ducks and prairie chickens which literally covered lake and prairie in those days. On the morning of the 1st November they were gladdened with the sight of the palisades of Fort Garry, and their journey came to an end. The whole of the Red River settlement, or in other words, the territory now embracing the whole of Manitoba and a large portion of the North West Territories was peopled by but 8,000 or 10,000 whites and half-breeds—the latter being much in the majority, and but two or three hundred of these were in the immediate vicinity of Fort Garry. There were, in fact, but forty or fifty dwellings and shops within a range of three miles from the Fort. The rest of the settlers were scattered at intervals up and down the river. When it is remembered that only a small proportion of the half-breeds had any taste for literature of any kind, it will be realized what difficulties faced our heroes at the outset of their career. They obtained for their office a small and poorly constructed frame building immediately under the walls of the Fort, and here the first copies of the *Norwester* were issued on the 28th of December, 1859. The night before the issue, the paper was wet down for printing, but when the printers came to lift it upon the press, they found the reams frozen into a solid block. This was

thawed out, but the building let in so much wintry air that the sheets as they were put upon the tympan glistened with frost like plates of tin.

The two partners, though they had a printing office, could find no boarding-house, and were obliged to get orders for bread from the Commandant of the Fort, which was then garrisoned by a detachment of the Royal Canadian Rifles, who were acting under orders from the all-powerful Hudson Bay Company. What proved a greater trial was that they could not obtain any skilled help whatever at the Fort, and they had to be their own editors, reporters, compositors, pressmen and delivery agents. But these, after all, great as they were, were only mechanical difficulties. Greater cause for anxiety the proprietors had from the indifference or active opposition of a large part of their constituency. They had to make a house-to-house canvass through the straggling settlements. They might go for miles to a house to find that the owner could not read English, and when they found an English-reading settler, they were often met by the argument that he knew more local news than the editors did, while, as to foreign news, he could learn as much as he wished from other papers which he received at long intervals—and which, by the way, the settlers were accustomed to exchange from family to family until they were literally worn out through use. A still more pitiful and hopeless settler's argument was, that if he subscribed to this one, there might be two papers, or even four starting at the Fort, bewildering them with a diversity of views—an excuse which reminds one of Rob, the Grinder's lament that he had been "led away by birds."

The Hudson Bay Company, whose favor or disfavor was of such moment to the new enterprise, looked upon it with suspicion, and true to their policy, favored it in a dissimulating way; but it was not long, as we shall see, before their disfavor took a positive form. Meantime, however, they subscribed for one copy to be sent to the factor or head of each of their trading posts throughout the North West. These posts were so widely scattered and some of them so far away, that under the system of supplies then in vogue, it would take just a year before copies of the first issue of the *Norwester* would reach the outermost of them. To them the news conveyed by this little paper would seem like light from a distant star.

Before 1850 there was no regular post-office at the Fort. In that year and for some years after, only two mails went out and came in each year. The outgoing mails were in August and December, the former by York Factory and the Hudson Bay, and the latter by Rainy Lake and Fort William. The incoming mails were in June

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and October, and came, the former by the "Governor's canoe," from Sault Ste. Marie, and the latter by the Company's boats from York Factory. At that time the settlers were eight months in learning of events in Europe. The Red River post office was organized in 1853, and a man was engaged to carry the mails to and from Crow Wing in the United States until Pembina was made the mail outpost. In that year, only a few dozen letters and papers came in or went out by each of these mails and in 1855 the monthly average was 150 papers and 40 letters coming in, and 90 letters going out. In 1858 the Canadian Government authorized a mail to Red River via Fort William, and in June of the following year, the two routes together brought in 400 letters and 713 papers and magazines. The first outgoing mail after the publication of the *Norwester* contained 246 letters for Great Britain, 85 for the United States, and 130 for Canada. It also contained 434 newspapers for Canada, 260 for England, and 112 for the United States, of which all but two were copies of the *Norwester*. A mail was now made up for Canada, Europe, and the United States on the fifteenth of each month, and sometimes there was a supplementary mail at the end of the month. The postage on letters for Canada and the Lower Provinces was ten cents, and at the boundary line an extra penny, known as the Red River postage, was collected on each letter going out or coming in. The postage on magazines or papers was two pence each, going in or coming out. The *Norwester* was published fortnightly and notwithstanding this heavy tax soon gained a number of subscribers in the British American Provinces and in England. The circulation of the paper was indeed remarkable for the width of its field, for its readers extended from the banks of the Mackenzie River within the Arctic Circle, to the shores of the Atlantic, not to speak of its European circulation. It was the only paper north of St. Paul in the United States and between the great lakes of Ontario in the east, and Vancouver Island on the west. Its appearance attracted considerable attention abroad, and several leading English journals spoke of the boldness and importance of the venture. William Lyon Mackenzie, who then published the *Message*, said of it: "I was once the most western editor, bookseller and printer in British America, but the *Norwester* is a thousand miles beyond me." Speaking of their own position, the editors in one of their first numbers said, "Occupying by many hundred miles the most advanced position among journals, it has no contemporaries to fight or compete with, but acts the better part of making known the advantages and resources of the country, and of demanding for the people the right, which cannot be much longer delayed, of self-government."

The little paper not only showed spirit and enterprise in its local work, but had, indeed, some creditable connections abroad. Though it was not known at the time, Thomas D'Arcy McGee was its parliamentary correspondent at Quebec; George Sheppard, who was considered the equal of George Brown as a journalist, contributed some articles to it, and F. W. Chesson, Secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society of England, was one of its English correspondents. In the second issue of the *Norwester*, Bishop Anderson, of the Diocese of Rupert's Land (which then comprehended the entire North West), paid for inserting his charge *in extenso* with notes. This occupied nearly the whole paper and was quite a windfall for the publishers. But the *Norwester* had soon to face its inevitable conflict. The Hudson Bay Co. had, as part of the machinery of its local government, a "council" which was organized so as to give the semblance of a representation without the reality. Of this council the Anglican and Roman Catholic Bishops were members, but its deliberations were secret, and the people knew no more of its proceedings or of its reasonings than the Company chose to disclose. When the "Council of Assiniboia," as it was termed, met in February 1860, the editors applied for permission to report the proceedings. The motion to grant this permission was moved by Bishop Taché, the Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Boniface, but it was defeated by a majority of 7 to 4, the Anglican Bishop being among those who voted against it. To neutralize the effect of this, an emollient was given in a resolution that the public accounts be published in the *Norwester*; but light was already dawning on the settlers of Red River. Soon after the *Norwester* had been refused admission to the council, a public meeting was held at the "Royal Hotel" to protest against the conduct of the Company in selling the lands of a certain settler without compensating him for them. At this meeting the case of the *Norwester* naturally came up. When the true meaning of the resolution was understood, the people expressed themselves with a plainness that must have astonished the oligarchy of the North West Territories, and a resolution was moved to the effect that "this meeting cannot conclude without expressing its strong disapproval of the course pursued by the majority of the Council of Assiniboia in refusing to admit the members of the press to report the proceedings of the council; and they would respectfully represent to all their fellow-colonists, that this circumstance among others proves that it is high time this Settlement should have an elective council." This resolution was carried unanimously, all standing.

It seemed that henceforth the *Nor'wester* could throw itself into the arms of the people, and not long after this the editor was able to say in speaking of the immediate prospect of the Settlement's becoming a Crown Colony, that "at last the grey streaks of morning are breaking in upon the long night of doubt and uncertainty which enveloped the future of this country." But the glimmer that was seen through the *Nor'wester* was a deceptive light. A change in the British Cabinet brought in a new Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the project of creating a Crown Colony was abandoned. Meantime the Hudson Bay officials took every opportunity of persuading the people not to patronize the *Nor'wester*.* Mr. Buckingham seeing that the day of destiny was deferred, sold out his interest and returned to Canada. Mr. Coldwell's new partner was James Ross, a half-Indian, son of the postmaster, who had distinguished himself at the college of St. John, and who was also a graduate of Toronto University. His sister was one of those who had joined the pilgrim printers on their journey to Fort Garry, and she had meantime become Mrs. Coldwell. Through many vicissitudes the paper lived on till 1864, when the office was burned down. Before that disaster, however, Dr. Schultz, now the Governor of Manitoba, had bought out Mr. Ross' interest, and now determined to revive the paper himself. The Anglican Bishop of Rupert's Land kindly gave one of the buildings of St. John's College for a printing office, and getting together some type that the Bishop had bought for mission purposes, he was able to send out a sorry semblance of the paper's former self. By some unexplained chance Alonzo Barnard, a Minnesota preacher, printer and photographer, had in his possession here a "hand-press of the most ancient, ponderous and amazing build, capable of a worse impression than any hand-press known," or even this could not have been issued.

Having assisted Dr. Schultz in reviving the *Nor'wester*, Mr. Coldwell returned to Canada. Meantime Sir George Simpson, the Governor of the district had died suddenly, and Mr. Dallas, a son-in-law of Governor Douglas, of British Columbia, succeeded to power. He had a broader mind than his predecessors in office. He believed the time had come when the monopoly of the Hudson Bay Company should cease, and he looked upon the publication of a newspaper in Fort Garry with pleasure. Had his administration continued it is quite likely that the insurrection of 1869 and 1870 would have been averted. The political events of this period—when

* Among other things they prevented Mr. Buckingham from obtaining his supply of bread from the Fort, and they soon found occasion to dismiss the new partner, Mr. Ross, from his position as sheriff, postmaster and governor of the jail.

the charter of the Hudson Bay Company had at last to be unwillingly surrendered, and the Canadian Government was to extend its authority over the North West—are familiar to most readers. At this crisis Mr. Coldwell had returned from Ontario with a newspaper plant and was preparing to issue a new paper to be called the *Pioneer*. The Hon. Wm. McDougall, the new Administrator sent by the Canadian Government, had handed in his proclamation to be printed in the first issue. This proclamation, and an editorial calling upon the country to support the new administration, had just been put into type and printed off when Louis Riel descended upon the place and gave an order forbidding the issue of the paper "until peace was restored." Under the gentle persuasion of pistols and guns the printers were induced to set up the remaining half of the paper with proclamations and articles advocating rebellion and the Riel regime. Thus the paper was actually printed and published on the 7th January, 1870, one part of it with the title of *Red River Pioneer*, advocating submission to constituted authority, the other with the title of the *New Nation*, upholding Riel, rebellion and annexation. A Major H. M. Robinson, an American, undertook the publication of the paper for Riel, and this leader performed the Cromwellian act of generously paying Mr. Coldwell with money which he had seized from the Hudson Bay Company. Mr. Coldwell had intended his paper to be the organ of the Company, and thus the paper was bought out of their hands by their own money. "While the negotiations were pending," said Mr. Coldwell, "I was not allowed to print anything. Instead of compositors, half-breed guards held possession of the office. Fiddles, pipes and pemmican were interspersed with pistols, guns and ammunition, and this in a newspaper office of small dimensions, made a complication sufficient to drive any printer to the verge of insanity." The editorial in the first number of the *New Nation* pronounced the Hudson Bay Co. to be an obsolete institution never to be resuscitated, and said that as the Dominion Government had, by its criminal blunders, forever alienated the people, and the Imperial Government was too far distant to administer affairs here, the question arose, what form of government was best adapted for the development of the country?" And we reply unhesitatingly," responded the editor, "the Republic of the United States." This tone of editorial continued till Bishop Taché came back to Winnipeg when the paper was suspended for two weeks, and when it reappeared it was more temperate. But the *New Nation* did not live long after the fires of Riel's Rebellion burnt out. It was edited in its last years by Thomas Spence, who is well known in Manitoban history as the keeper of a small retail store at Portage

la Prairie, and who having gained a kind of leadership amongst the settlers of the district, obtained notoriety by his futile attempt to found a Republic in Manitoba. The arrest on two different occasions of Dr. Schultz, editor of the *Nor' Wester*, and his liberation—on the first occasion by the act of a powerful sympathetic mob, and on the second by a ruse by which he let himself down with a rope made out of a buffalo robe, and fastened to a gimlet in the jail window—are episodes familiar in the political history of this exciting time.

The arrival of Colonel Wolseley on the scene in 1870, and the flight of Louis Riel, ended the ambitious schemes of agitators for republics in Canada, and prepared the way for the creation of the Canadian Province of Manitoba. With this happy change, the old Red River Settlement started on a career of prosperity which has made the Province of Manitoba one of the most promising members of the Canadian Confederation. The days of violence were not yet quite ended, however, for in 1872 the offices of the *Manitoban*, a weekly paper published by Messrs. Coldwell & Cunningham; of the *Nor' Wester* then owned by Dr. Bown, and of *Le Metis*, edited by Mr. Royal—now Governor of the North West Territories,—were all wrecked by a mob. Fort Garry under its new name, Winnipeg, made rapid progress and became the birthplace of many papers, some of them short-lived, and became a school which most of the editors and publishers of the rest of the Province and of the North West Territories still acknowledge as their journalistic Alma Mater. The first daily of Winnipeg, the *Herald*, was founded in 1877, but lived only two months. It was not till 1880 that Winnipeg maintained a permanent daily paper.

The first paper in the North West Territories appears to have been the *Saskatchewan Herald* of Battleford, established in 1878 by P. G. Laurie. But the history of the newspapers of this vast region, out of which half a dozen populous provinces of Canada may be formed by the beginning of the twentieth century, is only now in the formative stage and must be left to the historian of a later epoch.

British Columbia anticipated Manitoba by about two years in the establishment of its first newspaper. It is worthy of notice that although there is not to-day a French journal in that province, ~~yet~~ the first paper was issued in that language—its publisher being the Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. Demers. The editor was a French

Count, Paul de Garo, who had been obliged to fly from France during the Napoleon III troubles.* Landing at San Francisco he found his way to Victoria, where he was engaged by the Bishop to edit the paper, of which only a few numbers were published. The type and cases were of a quaint old French style, and the press must have been nearly a hundred years old then. It is still to be found in the office of the Kamloops *Sentinel*, and to look at it, says Mr. Higgins, "would bring to the modern printer's face a smile of pity for our fathers in journalism." When the Bishop dropped the paper, Count de Garo, after idling about town for a time, took a position as waiter in a restaurant, and thither, we are told, the young swells "used to flock solely for the purpose of having it to say that they were waited upon by a live count."

In 1861 the Count, along with many others, was smitten with the gold-fever, and took passage in an old steamer called the *Cariboo Fly*, bound for the Cariboo Gold Mines. As the vessel was clearing the harbor she was blown up, and among the bodies recovered was that of the Count. Thus died the first editor of British Columbia.

The first paper, however, which could claim the title of a newspaper was the *Victoria Gazette*, which came into existence when the gold fever was at its height in 1858. It was to all intents and purposes a daily paper, being printed five days of each week. The subscription, it may be noted, was fifty cents per week, at which rate it would have cost twenty-six dollars a year. Victoria was already a town of between six and seven thousand inhabitants and doing a large trade, and the *Gazette* returned a good dividend to its owners, who were Americans from San Francisco. In the autumn of the same year the *British Colonist* made its appearance under the editorship of the Hon. A. de Cosmos, and has been continuously published up to the present day. In the spring following the establishment of the *Colonist*, the *New Westminster Times* was issued, first at Victoria, and then at New Westminster. Its publisher was E. H. King, and its editor Leonard McClure a man of striking qualities as a journalist. During the period of its issue at Victoria, and in the excitement of an election contest, personal reflections were made upon one of the candidates, E. E. Longford, who being of a sensitive mind, brought an action against the paper, and in the course of the trial the authorship of the article was traced to the then Attorney-General, Mr. Carey. At one point of the trial Mr. Longford lost control of himself and used expressions for which he was

* For many of the facts related of the British Columbia papers I am indebted to a sketch, "Reminiscences of the Victoria Press," by the Hon. D. W. Higgins, in the *Colonist*.

sentenced to a month's imprisonment for contempt of court, but before his term expired he was liberated by an order from the Governor. The paper never recovered from the effects of this action, and expired the next year. Carey who built the "Carey Castle" of Victoria, now known as Government House, died in an English insane asylum. Mr. King appears also to have published the *Standard*, which a local writer alleges was the second newspaper issued on Vancouver Island, and the writer in question thus fancifully describes the circumstances of its first production: "An old Washington drum hand-press was brought down from 'Frisco and set up on the shore. Then young King rustled for local matter, wrote editorials that stirred the souls of those who could read among the trappers and traders and settlers, after which he "stuck the type" himself, ground the papers off with toil and tribulation, on the cranky old press, and having reached this point, put on his long rubber boots, girded up his loins, and waded out through the mud to deliver the edition over about sixteen square miles of territory. There wasn't a great deal of money in the enterprise, and the subscriptions were not always paid in hard cash. Occasionally he had even to fight before the bills were settled, but the life was interesting and exciting, and probably no newspaper editor was ever more thoroughly acquainted with his constituency than was he." There would appear, however, to have been at least three papers in the colony in 1859, for we are told it was in that year that Mr. John Robson,—a native of Perth, Ont., now risen to the distinction of premier of the province—arrived here and established the *British Columbian*. Among a number of ephemeral papers started between 1859 and 1865 was a daily, the *Evening Post*, conducted by Thomas Tanley, who had been on the staff of the London *Telegraph*. He was described as a skilful writer, but addicted to a vice unhappily too common among journalists, and after some months of excessive drinking committed suicide in the public street. Another daily, the *Evening Express*, was started in 1862 by George Wallace and Charles W. Allan. Mr. Wallace was a man of more than ordinary ability and perseverance, and the paper soon gained a good position. It was sold out at a high price to a company from whom it was bought by the *Times*, and Mr. Wallace went to England where he turned showman and made £70,000 traveling with a troupe of Japanese. Intending to return and settle down to a quiet life in Canada, he deposited this money with the American Banking house of Bowles Bros. While he was returning Bowles Bros. failed, paying two shillings in the pound, and poor Wallace was reduced to poverty and the daily drudgery of his old newspaper work. His

courage did not fail him, however, and for several years he did good work for the Toronto *Mail* as its correspondent in Montreal, till the death of his wife, three or four years ago, broke his spirit, and the worn out frame of the old man was e ~~e~~ long taken by newspaper friends to rest beside that of his wife in the cemetery of Mount Royal.

The first paper of Newfoundland, the *Royal Gazette*, was started in 1806, the printer being John Ryan. In the year mentioned, the magistrates, merchants and leading inhabitants of St. John's presented a memorial to the paternal government of the Island, stating that such a publication would be useful, and Ryan coming forward with an offer to conduct it, the Governor gave permission for its establishment, the paper to be printed weekly, upon conditions that he should give "bond in the Court of Sessions for £200 sterling with good securities, that previous to the printing of each number of the said paper," he would "submit the perusal of the proposed contents thereof to the magistrates in the Court of Sessions, and not insert in the said paper any matter which, in their opinion, or in the opinion of the governor for the time being, might tend to disturb the peace of His Majesty's subjects." It is not likely that Mr. Ryan, who was a Loyalist from the American colonies, ever published anything calculated to disturb the peace of His Majesty's subjects, for in an official publication of the kind he would have as little opportunity as he had inclination. Shortly after the paper was established he moved to St. John, N.B., where, as we have already seen, he became King's Printer for New Brunswick also, but when the local government was removed to Fredericton he returned to Newfoundland and took his old post. Here he remained till he died in 1847. Before his death he had taken in a partner, John C. Withers, and Mr. Withers held the position up to the day of his death last year, at the advanced age of 89, after having been in the employ of the government for 58 years.

In 1836 there were seven papers published in the colony, of which five were in St. John's, one at Carbonneau and one at Conception Bay, all weeklies. In 1864 there were twelve, one of them a daily and four semi-weekly.

STATISTICAL.

Statistics, to many people, are dry reading, but the figures we give showing in tabular form the recent development of Canadian journalism are certainly eloquent of great advance. Apart from the general facts given in the preceding pages, it is almost impossible to obtain statistics for all the provinces together at any given period beyond 1864 ; but Mrs. Jamieson in her "Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada," published in 1838, thus speaks of the numbers and condition of the papers of Upper Canada (Ontario) :— "Apropos of newspapers—my table is covered with them. In the absence or scarcity of books, they are the principal medium of knowledge and communication in Upper Canada. There is no stamp act here—no duty on paper ; and I have sometimes thought that the great number of local newspapers which do not circulate beyond their own little town or district must—from the vulgar, narrow tone of many of them—do mischief; but on the whole perhaps, they do more good. Paragraphs printed from English or American papers on subjects of general interest, the summary of political events, extracts from books or magazines, are copied from one paper into another till they have travelled around the country. It is true that a great deal of base, inflammatory party feeling is also circulated by the same means, but on the whole I should not like to see the number or the circulation of the district papers checked. There are about forty published in Upper Canada ; of these three are religious, namely the *Christian Guardian*, the *Wesleyan Advocate*, and the *Church*. A paper in the German language is published at Berlin in the Gore District for the use of the German settlers. * * * The newspapers of Lower Canada and the United States are also circulated in great numbers, and as they pay postage, it is no inconsiderable item in the revenue of the Post Office. Last year the number of papers circulated through the Post Office, paying postage, was :—Provincial papers, 178,065 ; United States and Foreign, 149,502 ; add 100,000 papers stamped or free, and here are 427,567 yearly among a population of 370,000, of whom one in fifty can read. The gross receipts of the Post Office were £21,000."

One authority states that in 1824 there were in Upper and Lower Canada nineteen newspapers, of which four were published in Quebec, seven in Montreal, one in Stanstead, two in York, two in Kingston, one in Brockville, one in Niagara, and one in Queenston. Of all these, six were published semi-weekly, the others weekly or less frequently. In 1827 the number in both provinces fell away to seventeen, but in 1829 it was twenty-seven, and in 1831 it was thirty-seven, and in 1836 Martin records the total as fifty, of which thirty were published in Upper Canada. Montreal then had three dailies and Quebec one, while a good many other were papers published twice or thrice a week. The Quebec daily, called *Neilson's Quebec Gazette*, was conducted on a peculiar plan—three days of the week it appeared in French and three days in English. These figures are scarcely reliable, however, as a return made to the House of Assembly, of the postage on newspapers, gives the names of twenty-five in Upper Canada alone, of which five were published in Toronto, five in Kingston, and three in Hamilton. *

According to M^{un}ro's History of New Brunswick, published in 1855, there were in that year in New Brunswick two daily papers and twenty weeklies, of which total six were published in St. John and four in Fredericton; in Nova Scotia in the same year there were twenty-one papers of which sixteen were printed in Halifax, three being daily. In Prince Edward Island there were five, all weeklies. A table for the united provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, published two years after this date gave twenty dailies and 153 weeklies; or a total of 243 including monthlies and other periodicals and counting the weekly or tri-weekly editions of dailies as separate papers. This would give for that period about 291 papers in the provinces then constituting British North America.

We now come down to 1864 the date nearest to Confederation for which any complete statistics can be gathered, and for that year we are able to present the following tabular view of progress:

* It may be well to note in passing that the postage on newspapers at this period was no light tax considering their circulation, the total paid in Upper Canada in 1830 being £435 sterling. Of this, more than half, or £228 were paid by a religious paper, the *Christian Guardian*, the next being Mackenzie's *Colonial Advocate* with £57 and the third the *Watchman* of Kingston, with £24. These three papers had therefore by far the largest circulation in the province.

1864

	Daily.	Tri- Weekly.	Semi- Weekly.	Weekly.	Bi- Weekly.	Semi- Monthly.	Monthly.	Bi- Monthly.	Quarterly	Total.
British Columbia	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	3
Manitoba . . . . .	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
New Brunswick	1	4	..	21	..	..	..	..	..	22
N. W. Territories . . . . .	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nova Scotia . . . . .	..	5	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	25
Ontario	12	4	5	148	..	..	..	..	..	172
Prince Edward Island . . . . .	..	..	..	7	1	..	..	..	..	8
Quebec	8	11	7	26	..	3	13	..	..	55
Total Canada	22	26	12	220	1	5	27	..	..	286
Newfoundland . . . . .	..	1	4	6	..	..	..	..	..	12
Total B. N. A.	23	27	16	226	1	5	27	..	..	298

NOTE.—When the sum of the various papers of a province does not agree with the total in the right hand column, it is because the different editions of a paper were not counted in this table as separate. In the other tables a daily and weekly edition of a paper were reckoned as two separate papers.

1874

British Columbia	3	*	..	17	..	..	..	..	..	31
Manitoba . . . . .	..	..	..	21	..	..	..	..	..	3
New Brunswick	4	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	33
North West Territories . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nova Scotia	4	..	..	24	..	..	4	..	..	38
Ontario	23	..	..	212	..	..	16	..	..	255
Prince Edward Island . . . . .	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	9
Quebec	12	..	..	41	..	..	17	..	..	88
Total Canada	46	..	..	325	..	..	41	..	..	457
Newfoundland . . . . .	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	13
Total B. N. A.	46	..	..	330	..	..	41	..	..	470

* The tri-weeklies, semi-weeklies, and semi-monthlies are omitted from this table, but all are included in the totals.

The annexed tables for 1881 and 1891 are from Rowell's American Newspaper Directory.

1881

British Columbia	2	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	8
Manitoba	2	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Brunswick	5	1	1	21	..	..	3	..	..	31
N. W. Territories . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Nova Scotia	5	3	..	32	..	2	4	1	..	47
Ontario	29	2	7	287	..	4	32	1	1	363
Prince Edward Island	1	..	2	8	..	..	..	..	..	11
Quebec	17	4	5	51	..	2	19	..	1	99
Total	61	10	18	407	..	9	58	2	2	567
Newfoundland . . . . .	..	1	4	6	..	1	..	..	..	12
Total Canada and Nfld.	61	11	22	413	..	10	58	2	2	579

1891

British Columbia	7	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	15
Manitoba	3	..	..	28	..	..	10	..	..	41
New Brunswick . . . . .	..	..	2	28	..	1	5	..	..	43
N. W. Territories	1	..	1	15	..	..	..	..	..	17
Nova Scotia	6	4	2	49	..	..	4	..	..	65
Ontario	42	1	4	305	..	13	69	1	1	496
Prince Edward Island . . . . .	..	2	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	12
Quebec	20	2	6	74	..	6	31	..	1	140
Total	88	7	15	577	..	20	119	1	2	829
Newfoundland	3	..	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	8
Total Canada and Nfld.	91	7	17	580	..	20	119	1	2	837

SUMMARY TABLE
OF NEWSPAPERS REPORTED IN A. MCKIM & CO'S
CANADIAN NEWSPAPER DIRECTORY

TO END OF 1891.

	<i>Bi-Weekly.</i>	<i>Tri- Monthly.</i>	<i>Semi- Weekly.</i>	<i>Weekly.</i>	<i>Semi- Monthly.</i>	<i>Monthly.</i>	<i>Bi- Monthly.</i>	<i>Quarterly.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
British Columbia	9	..	1	16	1	6	..	..	33
Manitoba	2	1	..	37	..	17	..	..	57
New Brunswick	7	..	2	29	1	9	..	..	48
Nova Scotia	7	4	4	54	*1	9	..	†1	80
North West Territories.....	2	..	..	16	..	1	..	..	19
Ontario	42	..	8	384	19	115	1	4	573
Prince Edward Island.....	3	..	1	9	..	1	..	..	14
Quebec	25	1	6	108	8	59	..	2	209
Total.....	97	6	22	653	30	217	1	7	1033
Newfoundland	3	..	3	4	1	..	..	..	11
Total Canada and Nfld.	100	6	25	657	31	217	1	7	1044

* Every three weeks.

† Semi-yearly.

It will thus be seen that the list we present in this volume is the most complete yet published, outnumbering by over two hundred papers any previous compilation.

The number of papers devoted to special subjects has greatly increased in Canada of late years, and the list, as may be seen by reference to our "Classified List", is now an important one. There are 26 papers devoted exclusively to agricultural and rural interests; 34 devoted to the interests of societies and brotherhoods; 10 to law; 32 to literature; 15 to medicine, pharmacy, dentistry and hygiene; 15 to temperance and prohibition; 43 to trade, finance and manufacturing; 7 to education and 29 published as college papers. There are 144 papers published in other languages than English. Of these 126 are French, distributed as follows: 115 in Quebec, 6 in Ontario, 2 in Manitoba, 2 in New Brunswick and 1 in Nova Scotia. There are also 13 German papers, all but 1 in Ontario; 4 Icelandic papers and 1 Swedish. There are 100 religious publications of which 24 are classed as Roman Catholic, 15 Church of England, 13 Methodist, 10 Presbyterian, 6 Lutheran, 6 Baptist and 26 as belonging to other denominations or classed "unsectarian".

CANADIAN IMPORTS

OF ARTICLES CONNECTED WITH THE PRINTING AND PUBLISHING
TRADES, FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30TH, 1890,
COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES.

DUTIABLE GOODS.

Books and Pamphlets	\$779,154
Bank notes, and blank forms, all kinds	1,139
American reprints of British copyright books	32,946
Bibles, prayer-books and hymnbooks	175,100
Posters, advertising bills, tickets and folders	19,222
Labels for fruits, vegetables, etc.	41,991
Maps, charts and globes	14,703
Newspapers or supplemental editions or parts thereof, partly printed and intended to be completed and published in Canada	683
Advertising pamphlets, pictures, pictorial show cards, illustrated advertising periodicals, illustrated price lists, advertising calendars, almanacs, and tailors' and mantle-makers' plates	136,896
Chromos, photographs and other artistic works (not hand painted or drawn) whether for advertising purposes or not	80,514
Printed music, bound or in sheets	29,097
Bookbinders' tools and implements, including ruling machines, etc	44,173
Brass strips for printers' rules not finished	2,084
Ink, writing	29,315
Ink, Printing	47,184
Lithographic Stones, not engraved	4,071
Stereotypes, electrotypes, and celluloids of books and bases and matrices and copper shells for the same whether composed wholly or in part of metal or celluloid	5,218
Stereotypes, electrotypes, and celluloids for almanacs, calendars, newspaper advertisements, or engravings or other like work for commercial purposes	20,071
Stereotypes, electrotypes and celluloids of newspaper columns, and bases for the same, wholly or in part of metal or celluloid	13,618
Matrices or copper shells of the same	106
Type for printing	69,485
Type metal	801
Engravings, prints and drawings	45,916
Playing cards	12,755
Calendared paper, including writing and note paper	253,888
Cardboard, bristol board and pasteboard	18,369
Millboard	9,594
Envelopes, blankbooks, and manufactures of paper	456,133
Printing paper	40,472
Ruled, bordered and boxed papers	13,139
Printing presses, folding machines and paper cutters	98,085

FREE GOODS.

Books printed in the Indian languages	478
Books printed by governments or scientific associations and not for trade	2,259
Books, educational, for the deaf, dumb and blind	384
Books for public libraries, and books more than 25 years old	11,986
Newspapers and magazines unbound	72,202
Pictorial illustrations, when imported by and for colleges, schools and literary or scientific societies	113

EXPORTS.

Pulp-wood, for paper-making	\$ 80,005
Wood pulp ground for paper making	168,180
Books, pamphlets and maps	52,936
Electrotypes	5,411

Canadian Customs Tariff.

ON IMPORTS CONNECTED WITH THE PRINTING AND PUBLISHING TRADES.

Advertising pamphlets, pictures, show cards, advertising periodicals and price lists, advertising calendars and almanacs, tailors and mantle-makers' fashion plates, chromos, photographs, oleographs, and other artistic work other than hand painting, whether for advertising purposes or not.....	6 cts. per lb. and 20 per cent.
Bank notes, bonds, bills of exchange, cheques, promissory notes, drafts and similar work, unsigned bill heads, envelopes, receipt forms, cards and other commercial blank forms, printed or lithographed, or printed from steel or copper plates, and other printed matter not elsewhere specified	35 per cent.
Bibles.....	5 per cent.
Bookbinders' cloth	10 per cent.
Blank books, all kinds.....	35 per cent.
Books embossed for the blind	Free.
Books, printed periodicals and pamphlets not elsewhere mentioned, not being foreign reprints of British copyright works, all blank books, drawing books, prayer books, etc.	15 per cent.
Books brought by settlers as settler's effects.....	Free.
Books printed in the Indian languages, or imported for libraries (not more than two copies of any one book) or books manufactured more than 20 years ago, or Government blue books.....	Free.
Bookbinders' tools and implements	10 per cent.
Boxwood for engravers	Free.
Brass in strips, for printer's rules, not finished.....	15 per cent.
British copyright works, reprints of.	15 p. c. and in addition thereto 12½ p. c.
Cards, playing, per pack.....	6 cts.
Charts, not elsewhere specified.....	20 per cent.
Charts, Admiralty.....	Free.
Chromos and Chromotypes (see advertising pamphlets)	
Electrotypes.....	2 cents per square inch
Engraved plates on wood, steel or other metal	20 per cent.
Engravings.....	20 per cent.
Esparto and other grasses, or pulp of, for paper-making	Free.
Fashion plates, (see advertising pamphlets).	
Hemp paper for the manufacture of shells and cartridges, gun wad paper ..	Free.
Hymn books and psalm books.....	5 per cent.
Illustrations, pictorial, for schools	Free.
Ink, writing.....	25 per cent.
Ink, printers'	20 per cent.
Labels for fruit, vegetables, meat, etc. and tickets, posters, advertising bills and folders	15 cts. per lb. and 25 per cent.
Leaf, gold and silver	30 per cent.
Lithographic presses.....	10 per cent.
Lithographic stones not engraved	20 per cent.

MACHINES.

Folding machines for printing offices and book binderies.....	10 per cent.
Ruling machines	10 per cent.
Sewing machines.....	\$3 each and 20 per cent.
Machines not otherwise enumerated and made wholly or in part of iron, or steel	30 per cent.
Paper cutters, book binders'	10 per cent.
Printing presses	10 per cent.
Tools, all kinds not elsewhere specified	35 per cent.
Magazines	Free.
Manuscripts	Free.
Maps and charts	20 per cent.
Music, bound or in sheets	10 per cent.
Newspapers and magazines unbound.....	Free.
Newspapers or supplemental edition or parts thereof, partly printed and in- tended to be completed and published in Canada.....	25 per cent.
Prints, drawings, engravings and building plans	20 per cent.
Paper cutters, (see machines.)	
Paper, all kinds, not elsewhere specified	25 per cent.
Paper, ruled and bordered papers, boxed papers, envelopes and blank books.	35 per cent.
Paper, tarred	½c. per lb.
Paper collar cloth, not glazed or finished	20 per cent.
Paper collar cloth, finished	25 per cent.
Paper waste.....	Free.
Paper sacks or bags, printed or not	35 per cent.
Periodicals not elsewhere specified.....	15 per cent.
Prayer books.....	5 per cent.
Presses (see machines).	
Printing ink.....	20 per cent.
Prohibited articles.—The importation of the following articles is prohibited under a penalty of \$200 together with the forfeiture of the parcel or package in which the same may be imported :—books, printed paper drawings, paintings, prints, photographs or representations of any kind of a treasonable or seditious, or of an immoral or indecent character; reprints of Canadian copyright works, and reprints of British copyright works which have been also copyrighted in Canada.	
Pulp, for paper-making	Free.
Rags, waste paper, etc., for paper-making.....	Free.
Sandpaper.....	30 per cent.
Stereotypes, electrotypes and celluloids for almanacs, calendars, illustrated pamphlets, newspaper advertisements or engravings, and all other like work for commercial trade or other purposes, N.E.S. and ma- trices or copper shells for same	2 cts per square inch
Stereotypes, electrotypes and celluloids of books and bases, and matrices and copper shells for the same, whether composed wholly or in part of metal or celluloid	1 cent per square inch
Stereotypes, electrotypes and celluloids of newspaper columns and bases for the same composed wholly or in part of metal or celluloid.	¾c. per square inch
Matrices or copper shells for the same	2 cts. per square inch
Type for printing	20 per cent.
Type metal	10 per cent.
Wood pulp	25 per cent.

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.

The Province of Ontario, though not first settled, is the most populous and wealthy of all the provinces of Canada. It has a land area of 219,650 square miles, and a water area of 2,350 square miles, with a population of 2,112,989, according to the census of 1891. It has 42 counties besides a number of districts as large as some European states, out of which future counties will be formed. In the province are 22 cities, 91 towns and 2,500 villages. Its facilities for railway and water communication combined are not surpassed by any portion of the American continent. Out of the total of 14,000 miles of railway in the Dominion, Ontario has over 4,000. The River St. Lawrence and the great lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron and Superior, touch it on its entire southern and western boundaries, while no county or important district is unreached by railways. Its northern limits reach also to James Bay, an arm of Hudson Bay. In the variety of its agricultural and fruit products, Ontario leads the Dominion; while its mineral wealth—a feature of which is the newly developed nickel mines of the northern region—is very great. More than one half of the 80,000,000 pounds of cheese shipped annually from Canada to Great Britain is produced in this province. The province produces on an average 25,000,000 bushels of wheat, 20,000,000 bushels of barley, 56,500,000 bushels of oats, 30,000,000 bushels of other grain: about 3,200,000 tons of hay, 18,250,000 bushels of potatoes, over 40,000,000 bushels of turnips and 11,800,000 bushels of other roots. It is noteworthy that the average yield per acre of crops in Ontario, though not so high as in the North West, is greater than in any state of the American Union, the comparison holding good with all kinds of grain and all states excepting one kind of grain in one state—Kansas, which produces a higher average in oats. Ontario has 5,569 public schools (including the Roman Catholic separate schools), with a total number of 495,329 pupils. Besides the colleges and other academic institutions, it has 115 high schools with 17,742 pupils. The total number of post offices in the province is 2,997, and in 1890 there passed through these offices 12,700,000 post cards, 50,500,000 letters (of which 1,886,000 were registered), and 5,630,000 newspapers exclusive of papers posted direct from publication offices. Out of a total membership of 215 in the Dominion House of Commons, Ontario sends 92 members; and the Legislature of the province has a membership of 90. The capital of Ontario is Toronto. For statistics and other information regarding the newspapers of the province, see other parts of this work.

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